

25 - 26 July, 1970

REFER TO DOS

Contents

THE U.S. AND EUROPE

1. Michel Tatu, "European Security Conference -- It Might Actually Take Place," Le Monde (Weekly Selection), July 8, 1970.

Le Monde's commentator on Communist affairs discusses the implications of the Warsaw Pact memorandum on European security and cooperation drawn up at the Budapest conference in June. He notes that the Warsaw Pact memorandum was less polemical than previous ones, and that it seemed to make concessions to NATO on three points:

(1) US and Canadian participation in a Conference on European Security is now definitely acceptable; (2) the agenda for a Conference has been broadened somewhat; and (3) the question of reduction of foreign forces is once again proposed for discussion. (2 pp.)

2. Ferdinand Ricardi, "Rey Commission's Final Report: Privileged Situation of US Firms in Europe," Le Monde (Weekly Selection), July 1, 1970.

A Le Monde analyst discusses the contents of the confidential report of the European Commission on American investments in Western Europe. The main theme of the report (which could be exploited politically by critics of the US if the report is made public) seems to be the privileged position that US firms enjoy in Europe -- their use of tax havens, their powerful attraction to European investors, their ability to procure special tax treatment from some of the host countries, and their practice of insuring that their subsidiaries in Europe do not compete with the parent companies for the US market. (3 pp.)

AFRICA

3. William Gutteridge, "The Armed Forces of African States: Introduction," Adelphi Paper No. 67, May 1970.

The introductory essay to a recent compilation published by the Institute for Strategic Studies in London. The author notes the upward trend in the number of men under arms in black Africa (a 10% increase since 1966). The primary significance of the military is internal; military intervention in politics has been endemic, although the military have not been notably successful in governing or in bringing about political change. (5 pp.)

DOS reviewed. Unclassified. Release in full

THE AMERICAN APPROACH TO NEGOTIATION

4. Fred Charles Ikle, "American Shortcomings in Negotiation with Communist Powers," Memorandum Prepared at the Request of the Subcommittee on National Security and International Operations, Senate Committee on Government Operations, 91st Congress, 2d Session, July 2, 1970.

A distinguished scholar of the negotiating process, now with the RAND Corporation, offers some perceptive observations on the American approach to negotiation. He notes such things as an excessive concentration on our adversaries' spoken and written words, a tendency to get lost in tactical details, a careless acceptance of our adversaries' characterization of issues, a habit of assuming that Communist diplomatic positions are immutable, and a failure to re-examine premises and evaluations. (17 pp.)

THE BROTHERS ROSTOW ON US FOREIGN POLICY

5. Walt W. Rostow, "Domestic Determinants of U.S. Foreign Policy: The Tocqueville Oscillation," Armed Forces Journal, 27 June 1970.

Professor Rostow feels that the heart of America's problem today is not overcommitment, but a sense of excessive loneliness in bearing the burdens of the world. President Johnson, he suggests, began the effort to engage the collaboration of other nations in a more equal sharing of economic and defense responsibilities. But "the strategy of our moving back in degree as the strength and cohesiveness of others permit them to take a larger hand in shaping their destinies -- while avoiding a collapse of the balance of power in regions of vital interest to the United States -- is certainly the most subtle and difficult task of foreign policy ever undertaken by the United States." (8 pp.)

6. William Whitworth, "A Reporter at Large: Some Questions about the War" [Interview with Eugene V. Rostow], The New Yorker, July 4, 1970.

An excellent discussion with former Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs Eugene V. Rostow on the geopolitical premises of US foreign policy, in Southeast Asia and around the world. A skeptical but thoughtful interviewer draws Rostow out into an extended analysis and defense of the concepts of the balance of power, national security, and national interest. These concepts have "a fearful grip on people," Rostow admits, but "they're tragically verified by history." (22 pp.)

FOR H.A.K. ONLY

A CRITIQUE OF PURE THEORY

7. Albert O. Hirschman, "The Search for Paradigms as a Hindrance to Understanding," World Politics, April 1970.

Professor Hirschman condemns the "model-builders and paradigm-molders" of American social science. Especially in studies of the Third World, a "tendency toward compulsive and mindless theorizing" has taken hold; abstract structural laws and behavioral generalizations are claimed to provide a universal key to historical and political analysis. He makes his case for a more modest style of analysis, which is more sensitive to the uniqueness and variety of real events, and which is yet more illuminating. (15 pp.)